DETECTION

OF A

CONSPIRACY

FORMED BY THE

UNITED IRISHMEN.

IT has long been thought, that the French have formed a regular plan for organizing an active and effective force within these States; and I am perfuaded, this discovery I am now going to lay before the public, will have been read with attention, few people will be so blind as not to perceive that this opinion was well founded. The French Propagandists have, in every country that they wished to ruin, found villains in abundance ready to engage in their service. The ambitious they have allured by the prospect of power, and the needy by that of pillage. In America there is less ambition and less poverty than in most other countries, and therefore, though some traitors have been found amongst them, they never were not much to be relied on, in the profecution of any defign, evidently hoftile to the interefts and honour of their country. They might be deceived, they might be duped, to lend their aid indirectly to forne fuch defign; but no man, who is led on in the dark, can be fafely confided in; becaufe, at the firft dawn of

light, it is a thousand to one but he makes his retreat.

The French seem to have been fully aware of this. Indeed, they learnt this truth from the mortifying defection of the AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES. There were many well-meaning men, who became members of these seditious meetings from ignorance, and who discovered no inconsiderable zeal in propagating their principles; but, as soon as the bandage was torn from their eyes, and they perceived the real views of DALLAS and the other leaders, they turned their backs on them with detestation.

This lesson induced the French to exert their *diplomatic skill* in choosing instruments more fit for their purpose. Ignorance, when allied with honesty, was no tool for them to work with. Real, sincere villainy, timid, without property, without principles, without country, and without character; dark and deliberate, unnatural and bloodthirsty ruffians; these were what they wanted; and where could they have bought them, with such certainty of success, as amongst that ruthless, rebellious tribe, the assumed UNITED IRISHMEN? The wretches known by this name had escaped from their country to avoid a punishment justly due to their crimes. *Here* they expected to find an organized system of perpetual anarchy; the needy

† This wretch, who was the tool of GRATTAN in forming the Democratic faction here, has been discovered, in a London periodical work, of a wretch to disprove Mr. HARPER's allegation respecting Genet's threat to appeal to the people from their government. The people in London do not know DALLAS, or no man there would have the impudence to appeal him and to Mr. HARPER's veracity. But, besides this immense difference in the credibility of the two men, Mr. HARPER is an independent gentleman, while DALLAS was and is, the *hireling tongue for Pitt*—His living, in a great measure, depends on the salary he receives from that source, and this appointment he had just received from GENET at the time that he gave his contradictory testimony.—He is a Cassio.

anticipated a life of laziness and plunder; the ambitious thought to grasp on power already moulded to their hands; and all combined upon a state of things, congenial to their own wicked suppositions.

Happily for us, they were deceived. They found a government, which, if too weak (like their own) to punish conspirators according to their deserts, was yet too sturdy to fall prostrate at their feet. They found property protected from their fraternizing clutches; they saw their hopes of political consequence vanish like a dream; and, instead of careſſes, condolence and applauſe, from the people, they met with the ſame virtuous abhorrence that had followed them from the ſhores of their native land.

Thus diſappointed, thus mortified, thus humbled and diſgraced, it was not to be wondered at, that they conceived a hatred againſt America equal to that which they entertained againſt their own country, and it is ſtill left to be wondered at, that they enrolled themſelves in the treacherous ſervice of France.

The firſt notice I had of the exiſtence of a Society of United Iriſhmen *here*, was by a printed paper (a copy of which the reader will ſee by-and-by) dated the 16th December laſt, and ſigned Ja. REYNOLDS. It was enveloped in a piece of paper addreſſed to me, and was left by an unknown hand, at the houſe of a perſon in Market-Street. It was on the 16th of January that I received this paper; and, in about three weeks afterwards, the Plan of the Conſpiracy was conveyed to me through the ſame channel.

This *Plan*, which is called a *Conſtitution*,* is printed in a ſmall octavo pamphlet, bearing date

* This is the age of *conſtitutions*. Amongſt the Illuminati of Paris they will doubtleſs continue faſhionable things; but, when

the 8th of August last. The title page imports, that it was printed at Philadelphia for the society; but the printer's name is very cautiously omitted. The person who enclosed me the pamphlet has, indeed, written in the margin the name of a printer, who, from the villanous publications which have already come from his press, I make no doubt was really the man; but this evidence is too weak for me to proceed upon in publishing his name to the world, as guilty of an offence, which amounts to treason against the United States.——Here follows the *Plan* of the *Conspiracy*.

DECLARATION and CONSTITUTION of the AMERICAN SOCIETY of UNITED IRISHMEN.—Philadelphia, printed for the Society August 8, 1797.

DECLARATION.

Six hundred years have past, since division and fraud reduced Ireland to colonial subserviency; the division of her people has ever since subjected them to the lash and to the goad of a foreign tyranny; a tyranny more odious than Asiatic despotism.

In our day and generation we have seen and we have felt. It is not necessary; there is not now time really to count over the long black catalogue of her baleful wrongs. There is not now time to argue and complain. THIS IS THE TIME TO ACT. *To act with energy we must act with union. Into-*

the dark scheme of conspirators takes the name, I think it is time for forcible and honest men to cease making use of it to express a mode of government.

men are united at home, we will not be disunited abroad.

Our love for freedom has not been lessened by what we have experienced of its effects, or for Ireland by our distance. Under the sacred influence of devotion to the UNION, EQUALITY AND LIBERTY of ALL MEN, *we gladly embrace the solemn ties by which we wish to be bound to one another, and hereby form ourselves into an association,* under the name of "THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN," adopting the following

CONSTITUTION.

[The declared intention of procuring "*Equality and Liberty to ALL men,*" is a clear proof Ireland alone was not in their view. But, as we go on, we shall perceive that neither country nor its concerns are at all included in the objects of these people. The words *Ireland, Irishmen,* &c. are mere substitutes for other words, like the cant of the pick-pockets, according to which a *hog* means a *shilling*, a *pig*, *sixpence*, and so on. This will clearly appear from the articles and TEST of the precious constitution.]

Section 1. That ALL SUCH PERSONS, and such only, shall be eligible to this Society of United Irishmen, as shall have suffered in the cause of freedom, or who, by their zeal for THE RIGHTS OF MANKIND, shall have rendered themselves distinguished and worthy of attachment and confidence.

[Thus, you see, it is not IRISHMEN alone, who are eligible to this Society; but ALL SUCH PERSONS as shall, according to their cant, have *suffered in the cause of freedom*, or have shewn *their zeal for the rights of mankind!* In other

wonds, every ſcoundrel, of whatever nation, is eligible, provided he has been manacled or tranſported, or has rendered himſelf worthy of the gibbet, for ſome attempt at rebellion or ſome act of treaſon, no matter under what government or on what occaſion; or, provided his ſeditious principles are ſo well known and eſtabliſhed as to leave no reaſon to doubt of his attachment to the cauſe. *Americans*, then, and *Britons*, and *Frenchmen*, and men of every country being eligible to the Society, can any one be ſilly enough to ſuppoſe, that the conſpiracy had *Ireland* in view? What had any of theſe people to do with *Ireland*? But, on the abſurdity of this we ſhall have time to remark by-and-by. Indeed, the TEST itſelf gives the lie to this cant about Ireland. All that is neceſſary to remark on this ſection is, *that it provides for the admiſſion of every diſcontented faction now in the United States*: and that the latter part of it is no more than a copy of the qualification clauſe of the Jacobin Club at Paris, except that the latter required poſitive proof from every new member of his having *actually committed ſome crime deſerving the halter*, while our more liberal conſpirators, thinking it unjuſt to exclude a villain merely becauſe he has failed of ſucceſs, are willing, in ſome caſes, to admit the *intention* as equal in merit to the *deed*.

Section 2. That no perſon ſhall be propoſed for admittance but by a member in his place.

Section 3. That no propoſition for the admittance of a member ſhall be received, unleſs it be ſeconded by another member preſent; and that it ſhall likewiſe be neceſſary for the propoſer and ſeconder to vouch for the moral character and civiſm of the perſon propoſed; in defect of which no election ſhall take place.

Section 4. Members shall have the privilege of proposing or seconding the proposal of candidates in any Section, as well as that to which they belong.

Section 5. A candidate proposed agreeable to the 2d, 3d, and 4th Sections, shall not be balloted for, until the next meeting after that in which he has been proposed, unless known to two-thirds of the members present, (two black-beans to reject without a reason, and one with reasons), but, upon his election, he shall be immediately admitted, under the following forms:—

Section 6. Before a person elected shall be considered a member, the President shall put to him the following questions: an affirmative to the 1st, 5th and 6th, and a negative answer to the 2d, 3d, and 4th, shall be indispensable to admission as such:

Section 7. I. Do you believe a free form of government, and unconrouled opinion on all subjects, to be the common rights of all the human species?

II. Do you think the people of Ireland are in possession of these rights?

III. Do you think the government of Great Britain ever was, or is now disposed, to acknowledge, or assent to the freedom of Ireland?

IV. Do you think Great Britain ought, of right, to govern Ireland?

V. Are you willing to do all that in you lies to promote the emancipation of Ireland, and the establishment of a republican form of government there?*

* These two questions, 4 and 5, are well worth the attention of the reader, particularly if he be an Irishman. The answer to question 4, is to be in the negative, and that to question 5, in the affirmative; consequently, the initiated swears, "that he does not "*think that Great Britain ought to govern Ireland*; and, that he "will do the utmost in his power for the establishment of a "*republican form of government there.*" Now mark. What these

VI. Are you willing to bind yourself, by a solemn obligation, to the principles you have acknowledged?

Section 8. That upon the candidate answering these questions, as required by the sixth section, the following shall be administered as a test, all present standing:

TEST.

I A. B. in the presence of the SUPREME BEING *do most solemnly swear, that I will, to the utmost of my power, promote the emancipation of Ireland from the tyranny of the British Government.—That I will use the like endeavours for extending, and perpetuating, the warmest affection among all religious denominations of men, and for the attainment of LIBERTY and EQUALITY, TO MANKIND, IN WHATEVER NATION I MAY RESIDE. Moreover, I do swear, that I will, as far as in me lies, promote the interest of this, and every other Society of United Irishmen, and of each of its members—and that I will never, from fear of punishment, or hope of reward, divulge any of its secrets given to me as such.*

Section 8. That the TEST of this Society, the INTENTION of this INSTITUTION, (in all other respects than as a *social body*, attached to freedom,) be considered as SECRET AND IN-

miscreants were in Ireland, they were seditious to be sure; but, they never openly avowed their intentions. On the contrary, they wished, they said, to preserve *the essence of the British Constitution*; this constitution they were everlastingly extolling; they frequently expressed the warmest *attachment to his Majesty*; and when they were called *Republicans*, and told that their intention was to effect *a separation from the sister kingdom*, they called it a "*gross slander*"!! This has been the constant practice of all the run-away patriots, from PRIESTLEY to REYNOLDS. Surely such proofs of their duplicity must in time open the eyes of their deluded adherents!

VIOLABLE in all cases, but between members, and in the body of the Society.

Section 9. That nevertheless, a member of the Society shall not be considered as divulging its secrets, who shall propound to persons, disposed to become members, the sense of the six propositions which *precede the test*.

[Here we see that Ireland is almost dropped out of sight. It is just mentioned in order to keep up the cant; but the initiated is to swear, that he will do the utmost of his power for the attainment of LIBERTY and EQUALITY, to MANKIND IN WHATEVER NATION HE MAY RESIDE! Ireland, therefore, if not totally dismissed by the TEST, is no more contemplated by it than America is, taking the words in their literal sense: and we shall see in the sequel, that this blessed liberty and equality is intended for America alone.

The criminality of the purpose and end of the combination is most amply proved by the section that immediately follows the TEST.—"The TEST "of this Society and the INTENTION of the in- "stitution shall be kept SECRET and INVIOLA- "BLE."—The members may tell the world that it is a "*sacred body* attached to freedom;" that is, they may give out that its principles are friendly to general liberty; they may represent it as one of those collections of individuals that men of sense usually laugh at, but they must not say a word about the INTENTION of the institution, nor must they discover the nature of the OATH.

Now, if nothing more were meant than an association against *the Government of Great Britain*, which they must well know would excite contempt and ridicule, why all this *secrecy*? Why conceal the nature of the oath? and, particularly, why conceal the *intention* of the institution?

By the 5th section we see, that the discoveries, made even to those who offer themselves as members, are to extend no farther than "the sense of "the six propositions *preceding* the TEST." The Test itself they are to know nothing of, 'till they have gone too far to retreat, and then they are bound not to divulge what they have learnt. First, the initiated member swears, that he "will never, "from *fear of punishment* or *hope of reward*, di-"vulge any of the *secrets* given to him as such;" and then the INTENTION of the institution is immediately given to him as one of those *invisible secrets!* If there were nothing wicked, nothing highly criminal, nothing dark and traiterous in this INTENTION, why is the discovery of it thus guarded against? Men never "*fear punishment*" for concealing what is not criminal. Indeed, this TEST stamps the character of the combination: a Test of secrecy, as to the *motives* of the members, is essential to a conspiracy; and it is that which distinguishes this society from a "*social body*," which is the character they wish to appear under in the eyes of the world.

Here again we perceive the plan to be little more than a copy of that of the Jacobin club in France. The *Christian Religion* is discarded, and the initiated wretch swears by the "SUPREME BEING." Next *Liberty and Equality to mankind* is the object, *in whatever country they may reside*; the world are to be told, that the society is merely a *social body*; but its real INTENTION is to be kept a secret under the most solemn injunctions. Thus proceeded the Jacobins at Paris, that *social body* who overturned the government of France. PLAYFAIR says, they had *two creeds*, one to *amuse the public*, and another that, for a long time, was known but to the members.

The oath of ſecrecy neceſſarily forbids a communication of one of the pamphlets containing the TEST, &c. The perſon who made this communication to me muſt, therefore, have broken his oath, or muſt have purloined the pamphlet. I rather think the former; becauſe, had he not thus committed himſelf, were it not that he was aſſumed to own himſelf one of the conſpirators, and, at the ſame time, incurred the odium of having betrayed his companions, it is pretty clear, that, poſſeſſing an inclination to make the diſcovery, he would long ago have come forward as the inſtrument of an effectual proſecution. He tells me in a note, which covered one of the papers, that he has *found a clue* to all their ſecrets, and, as I before obſerved, he writes down the name of the printer in the margin. This latter circumſtance was enough; for, if the printing could be proved, or if it can be proved now, the printer, at leaſt, can be puniſhed as a conſpirator, and this may lead to a diſcovery of his employers.

Having thus remarked on the deſign of the conſpirators, I ſhould now come to the means provided for *inſuring its ſucceſs*, by which the reader will at leaſt ſee the extent of the plan, and will be fully convinced that its real object is the deſtruction of the American Government.]

Section 10. The member thus initiated ſhall ſubſcribe his name to the conſtitution, and pay to the treaſurer, half a dollar.

Section 11. The monthly ſubſcription of each member ſhall be a quarter of a dollar; payable on the firſt meeting in every month; if the member be elected after the twentieth of any month, he ſhall pay no more than his fee of initiation for that month.

Section 12. If any member neglect to pay the reſpective ſums before mentioned, for the ſpace of three months, the ſecretary of his ſection ſhall then ſignify, in writing to the member, the amount of the arrears, and demand payment, and that in default thereof, his name and the ſum due, ſhall be publicly read by the treaſurer of the ſection to which he may belong, on the three next ſucceeding meetings thereof, and if his arrears be not paid on the third reading, he ſhall be excluded the Society. But excluded members, upon paying all arrears due, and the uſual contributions that were payable during his excluſion, may apply for admiſſion, agreeable to the uſual form. Provided, nevertheleſs, that this rule ſhall not extend to ſuch members as ſhall declare their inability to pay, in reply to the ſecretary, in an authentic form, and where local circumſtances may render their attendance impoſſible, or highly inconvenient.

Section 13. Any perſon elected by ballot, who ſhall not attend three ſucceſſive meetings after his election, ſhall forfeit it, unleſs due cauſe ſhall be ſhewn to the proper ſection for his abſence.

Of the Officers of Sections.

Section 1. There ſhall be a preſident and ſecretary for each ſection elected, by ballot, who ſhall continue in office *ſix weeks*—they ſhall be re-eligible after a period equal to that, during which they were in office.

Section 2. That a treaſurer ſhall be appointed by ballot, who ſhall continue in office for *three months*, and ſhall not be re-eligible until the expiration of three months.

Section 3. The ſecretary ſhall have power, at the deſire of the Preſident, to convoke *extra meetings*.

Section 4. Each Section shall meet *weekly*, or oftener in special cases.

Section 5. The hours of meeting shall be *at seven o'clock* from the 25th September till 25th March, and at eight from the 25th March till 25th September.

Section 6. The chair shall be taken at the above hours precisely, if there shall be ten members present.

Section 7. That in the absence of the President, or any other officer, the Section shall call a member to the office, *pro tem.*

Section 8. That upon the President taking the chair, he shall direct the secretary to read the minutes of the preceding meeting.

Section 9. The Roll shall be called previously to every adjournment.

Section 10. The balloting for, and the nomination, or initiation of candidates, shall precede further business.

Section 11. That on open votes the President shall have a casting voice, and when he speaks to a motion, he shall vacate the chair.

Section 12. That every motion shall be made standing, shall be delivered to the President or Chairman in writing, if required; must be seconded by another member, also standing, before it shall be received by the President; any matter of peculiar importance shall first be debated in a committee of the whole.

Section 13. The mover of a question shall have liberty to speak in reply; but no other shall speak more than once, but in explanation on the same subject, except in a committee of the whole.

Section 14. In matter of order, the President or Chairman shall decide finally.

Section 15. That in each section a committee shall be appointed to select *extracts from political works*, to be read occasionally.

Section 16. That fines shall be levied for disorderly behaviour, but not exceeding fifty cents each, which fine shall be nominated by the President or Chairman; and in case of appeal, be decided by the majority of members present.

Section 17. No person shall interrupt the Chairman or any other member while speaking, unless to the point of order; repetition of interruption, contrary to this rule, to subject the disorderly member to such censure, besides a fine, as the society shall think fit. Extremely disorderly behaviour shall subject the offender to expulsion, at the will of three-fourths of the members present.

Section 18. A member absenting himself from his section three nights successively, (without acquainting it of the cause in writing, or by means of another member, who shall declare upon his honor, that he is authorized by such member, to make an apology for him, and offering some sufficient reason for his absence) shall be liable to a fine of fifty cents, and on refusing to pay such fine shall not be entitled to vote in his section, or transact any other duty in the society until he shall have paid his fine.

Of Certificates.

Section 1. CERTIFICATES shall be provisionally granted to members of the society removing from their vicinage, which shall be signed by the President and Secretary of the section to which the members belong.

Section 2. A member going to a foreign country, or to a distant part of the United States, shall give a week's *notice of his intention*, but in urgent cases, the *committee of secrecy*, of his section, may grant such certificate.

Section 3. No member is entitled to a certificate, but in the foregoing cases.

Section 4. That members, on their return, muſt re-deliver their certificates to the Preſident or Secretary, in the preſence of the ſection to which they belong.

Of an Enlarged Organization.

Section 1. THAT when any ſection ſhall conſiſt of eighty members in a city or large town, it ſhall ſeparate into two ſections: *country ſections* may ſeparate as their peculiar circumſtances may render expedient.

Section 2. That any ſection, *ſtate committee*, or the *general executive committee*, ſhall have the power of appointing an *agent* or *agents*, and furniſhing him or them with copies of the conſtitution, for the purpoſe *of forming new ſections*.

Section 3. Each ſection ſhall, quarterly, make an exact return of the *number*, *names*, *reſidence*, and *occupation of its members*, to its proper ſtate committee, and the ſtate committee ſhall make ſimilar returns, at like periods, to the *general executive committee*, who ſhall keep an exact regiſter of names thus returned.

Section 4. As ſoon as there ſhall be two or more ſections in any ſtate of the American Union, they ſhall be repreſented in a *State Committee*, in the following manner, viz. when a ſection ſhall amount to eight members, they ſhall ſend *one Delegate* to ſaid committee: when to twenty-two, two Delegates; and when to thirty-three, three Delegates, who ſhall not be re-eligible until they have been out of office, for a time, equal to their term of ſervice—two-thirds of whom ſhall form a quorum. The ſtate committee ſhall meet monthly, or oftener,

if neceſſary; and be partially renewed by a member from each ſection every month.

Section 5. Diſtrict Sections ſhall have the power of appointing perſons to repreſent them in their reſpective ſtate committees, from among their brethren whoſe local ſituation may render attendance more convenient.

Section 6. Each ſection ſhall appoint a committee of ſecrecy and correſpondence, to communicate with the ſtate committee, which ſhall be regulated in like manner. It ſhall alſo elect, every ſix weeks, a delegate, and *ſub-delegate* to attend the meetings of neighbouring ſections, and report proceedings.

Section 7. That the ſecretary of every ſection ſhall, when a member takes his ſeat, and ſubſcribes the teſt, take down his place of reſidence, which he ſhall carefully tranſmit to the *committee of ſecrecy* thereof, who ſhall divide the ſections into *ſub-ſections of eight members* who may live contiguous to one another; that every *eighth man ſhall have the charge of the other ſeven members, to warn them to* eights of *myſtery*, or to extraordinary meetings of the ſection: the ſecret committee or ſecretary of the ſection, ſhall by warning thoſe eighths, conſider themſelves as warning the whole ſection.

Section 8. When two or more ſtate committees have been formed, they ſhall elect two of their members from each to a general executive committee, the firſt of whom, from each ſtate, ſhall go out of office by lot, and the reſt in rotation, and be replaced by a new member every three months, and not be re-eligible until a period equal to their term of ſervice. *The general executive committee is to poſſeſs the direction of the great intereſts of the whole ſociety, and keep up a conſtant communication with the committee of the different ſtates.*

Section 9. The general executive committee ſhall, when their number exceeds four, elect from among

themselves a committee of secrecy and correspondence, consisting of three members, one of whom shall go out of office every three months, and shall be re-eligible after a period equal to their time of service.

Section 10. The General Executive Committee shall assemble as often as the interests of the institution demand, or when required so to do by the committee of any state.

Section 11. There shall be a Treasurer for each state, to whom the Treasurers of the Sections are to return quarterly payments and accounts. Each of the State Treasurers, are, at like periods, to make similar returns to the Treasurer appointed by the General Executive Committee, who is to continue in office three months, and to be accountable to their Committee of secrecy and correspondence; he shall also, if required, exhibit his accounts to the secret committee of any section. The State Treasurer shall be appointed by the State Committee.

Section 12. Every officer, and every member of a committee, is responsible to the body by whom he was elected, and liable to any punishment they may, on account of his delinquency, inflict.

Section 13. No person shall be eligible to hold two offices within his respective section.

Section 14. That when the State Committee, or the General Executive Committee, or a majority of the sections recommend a revision of the preceding constitution, it shall take place.

[Now, leaving the mere formalities and other trifling things aside, let us take this plan and look at it in its substance. It is very properly called an "*enlarged organization*," for it embraces an extent no less than that of the whole Union.

First, we see, that every restless wretch, of whatever nation, is admitted into any section of the

ſociety, and has his name, place of reſidence, &c. enrolled on its liſt; but, leſt the aſſemblages ſhould become unwieldy, or alarming to the magiſtrates, theſe ſections when they get to a certain ſtrength, ſeparate, and the detached parts form new ones, juſt as bees ſwarm when the hive is over-crowded.—The troops being thus enrolled in the ſections, the next thing is to render them manageable. Were the ſections ſubjected to no ſuperior command; were they to remain ſcattered over the country without any common head, they would be like ſo many independent companies without a commander. But theſe troops have not been raiſed to *lie in idleneſs*, and, therefore a mode of uniting their efforts is provided. The ſections in every ſtate are to ſend delegates to form *a State Committee*; and theſe ſixteen State Committees are to ſend delegates to form a "*General* EXECUTIVE *Committee*;" and this is the whole brought to one point.

So much for the organization. Now for the operative part of the plan.

"*The General* EXECUTIVE *Committee*" (which I have not the leaſt doubt, is now ſitting in Philadelphia) keeps up a conſtant communication with the State-Committees, and from it, the whole Society, or rather *army*, receives "directions" when and how to act. It has returns made to it of the numbers enrolled in each State, of the names, reſidence, and occupation, of the perſons enrolled; by this means it is at all times informed of its ſtrength, and where that ſtrength lies.

When it is neceſſary TO ACT, the General *Executive* Committee are to diſpatch their orders to the State Committees; theſe to their ſections, and theſe again (by their committee of *ſecrecy*) to their *ſub-ſections*. Here the orders reach the *active troops*, and that there may be no confuſion in their

movements, these *sub-sections* consist of only *eight* men each, all *living near one another*, and one of these eight is a sort of non-commission officer, who (to use the very words of the conspirators) is to "have "the *charge* of the other seven, and is to WARN "them IN CASES OF URGENCY"!!!

Now, I appeal to any man of common sense, whether this infernal combination can possibly have any other object in view than an insurrection against the government of America. What "*cases of* "*urgency*" can arise *in this country*, what opportunity can offer itself *here*, for *overturning the British Government in Ireland?* Were the villains, indeed, furnished with *wings*; could they like other birds of passage, assemble in a flock and take their flight to Ireland; then the ostensible motive of the association would have something like plausibility about it; but as they are, this ostensible motive is a palpable absurdity, a mere trick, which has been invented in order to inveigle ignorant persons to take the TEST, and, in case of detection, to award the punishment which the law awards to *traitors* and *spies*; or at least, to leave room for doubt and contention in the courts of justice; a bad chance being better than none, and ten years imprisonment better than death.

That this conspiracy is intended *to aid the cause of France*, it is hardly necessary to insist on; every one must perceive it at the first glance.—What can these ragged ruffians expect to do *alone?* How can they alone support their current expences, exclusive of "*cases of urgency*," of arms, ammunition, &c. &c. By an attention to the financial part of their plan, you will perceive, that the money they collect from the members is barely sufficient to defray the charges which must necessarily be incurred for rooms to meet in. Who is to pay for printing their CONSTITUTIONS, their CER-

TIFICATES (which I hear are from an engraved copper plate); who is to pay for the time and travelling expences of all their Delegates from the Sections to the State Committees, and from them to the General Executive Committee at Philadelphia; who is to pay a sum amounting to not less than *forty thousand dollars* annually? Who but those who boast of "*Diplomatic Skill*," and of their "*powerful faction in this country*;" those who have long had in pay the leading *patriots* in Ireland, and who have constantly supported a hireling press in each of the principal Cities of America?

Next, observe that the closest intimacy exists between the sans-culotte French, who are here, the most distinguished of the emigrated United Irishmen, and a base American printer, notoriously in the service of France. Observe too, that NAPPER TANDY went from New York to France, and that the conspiracy, as appears by its date, was not formed, 'till *after we heard of his arrival at Paris*.

The leaders in this conspiracy are the very same persons, who conducted that in Ireland. When a section of their deluded partizans, in that country, were taken unawares by the King's troops, no money but *French* was found upon them, and this in a retired part of the kingdom, where it was impossible these infatuated wretches could have come at through any other channel than that of the despots of Paris and their wicked agents. And, if a conspiracy could be so effectually paid there, in a country at open war with France, with an *alien law*, vigorously enforced, how easy must it be for them to maintain a hired and regularly paid conspiracy here, where there is no check whatsoever to their machinations!

This diabolical plan was formed on the 8th of Auguſt laſt, immediately before the YELLOW FEVER commenced its ravages in this city; with this in his recollection the reader will form his opinion reſpecting the following, which is a copy of the *printed paper*, before mentioned.

AMERICAN SOCIETY

OF

UNITED IRISHMEN.

WHEN the Society of United Iriſhmen was formed here, men were found emulous of crowding to the Iriſh Standard, for the aſpect of Ireland then, afforded hope that her wrongs would ſoon be redreſſed.—That view ſo conſoling to humanity has for a moment been obſcured; but it is not honourable to deſert a deſerving friend in diſtreſs, it is not honourable to abandon a meritorious cauſe, which, when proſperous we have ſworn to ſupport.

The ſociety is happy to find, that there is ſtill reaſon to think, the fire and the ſcourge, will not long be exerciſed over our brethren with impunity, that the tyrannical impriſonments, the rapes, the arſons, the tortures, and the military murders are about to be avenged, and, that a manly people, whom ſix hundred years ſlavery could not debaſe, are about to be reſtored to their rights.

We have cauſe to deplore the loſs we have ſuſtained by the diſeaſe which lately ſuſpended our meetings; and, we are unwilling to aſcribe the preſent neglect of attendance of ſome members, to unworthy motives—but, it is deemed a duty, to

notify you, that those who in future absent themselves, cannot conformably to the 18th Article of the Constitution, be regarded as belonging to the association.

The next meeting will be held at 7 o'clock on the evening of the 21st instant, in the African School-room, Willing's-alley, which lies between Third, Fourth, Walnut, and Spruce-streets.

Signed by Order of the committee,

Js. REYNOLDS.

Philadelphia, December 18th, 1797.

This is the man, who began his canting letter, respecting his attack on Mr. Pickering, with declaring that he was come *here* in search of "REPOSE"!!

This notice, I would have the reader believe, I have not published without good proof of its being signed by REYNOLDS, the seeker of "REPOSE." His name is *written*, and the hand writing has not only been carefully compared with the signature to a letter of his, now in my possession; but has also been compared and verified before one of the judges in this city.* All that is now wanted is, good proof of the person who *printed*, or who *authorized printing*, the plan of the conspiracy, which is called the CONSTITUTION, and if any American, *native* or *adopted*, is in possession of the means of producing such proof, and neglects to produce it, he is to all intents and purposes a TRAITOR.†

* Judge PETERS.

† Since writing the above the printer has been discovered, but not before he had fled. A reward ought immediately to be put on his

I shall, now, briefly state, what I have lately gathered respecting the members of which the conspiracy now consists, and respecting the manner in which they are to ACT, and on what occasions. In the mean time, I would have THOSE, in whose power alone it is to counteract the baleful effects of this hellish combination, to recollect, that any ALIEN LAW, which extends only to ALIENS of a *nation committing hostilities on the United States*, will not reach the members of this affiliation.*

I am informed, by one of the persons who manage the affairs of the AFRICAN SCHOOL, that the United Irishmen have not assembled there, for some time past, and that the reason of this was, their number was become *too great* for so small a room. I am also well informed, that two *Englishmen* have been admitted into the Society (I dare say there are two hundred) and that they earnestly solicited *another Englishman* to join it. Their strength, at this time, in this city and twenty miles round, consists of above *fifteen hundred*; no contemptible number, if we consider how short the space is, since they began to enlist. A *section* has been formed at New-York, another at Baltimore, and another is either formed, or about to be formed,

head, unless he returns, in a short space, and gives up the author. REYNOLDS seems apprehensive of some such event, and is accordingly preparing for his departure.

* While I am writing this note, there is a bill passing through the lower House of Congress, authorizing the president to cause to be seized and sent out of the country, all such *aliens* as have been convicted of *treason* or *sedition* in other countries, or are *known to have fled hither to escape from the hands of justice*.—This is a very wise, and absolutely a necessary measure. Citizen REYNOLDS may probably be forced back again to his offended country, to receive sentence in those courts which he fled from! All mankind will rise united against these treacherous wretches; they will be driven from shore to shore; the indignant waves will at last hurl them on some desert strand to perish and become food for the fowls of the air. The "*Monthly Review Enlarged*" will doubtless find in their fate, an excellent subject for an elegy.

at Chambersburgh, in this state. Indeed, there is very little doubt, but we shall very soon receive satisfactory information of their being organized in every state, and in every principal city and town in the Union.

With respect to their calling their troops into *actual service*, it is clear that they would proceed in the same manner as the Jacobins in every other country have done. Conspirators are always cowards; besides this, they know too well their weakness to attempt an attack on the Government, unaided by any other party, and unprotected by a foreign power. Their whole business therefore, at present, is, to organize themselves; to enlist and number their troops, and to lie in wait for what they very properly call, "*cases of URGENCY.*"

If the "*diplomatic skill*" of France had been exercised with such complete success as the tyrants of that wretched country supposed it was; if it had been found, upon trial, that she possessed a very numerous and formidable faction here entirely devoted to her orders, these "*cases of URGENCY*" might have arisen from internal commotions. This source now seems to be dried up. The dispatches from France have robbed the "Sister Republic" of all her adherents, except the most abandoned and infamous miscreants amongst the Americans, her own sans-culottes, and the half-gibbeted democrats from Great Britain and Ireland. Nothing, then, can give rise to one of those "*cases of URGENCY*" short of an invasion from France either from the Spanish territory, or from the sea; and, for an event of this kind the conspirators are now looking with hopes much more sanguine than the wandering seed of Abraham ever looked for the coming of the Messiah.

An invaſion on the coaſt is a thing naturally to be expected, unleſs an alliance is formed with Great Britain; and from Louiſiana or the Floridas it is to be expected, whether ſuch an alliance takes place or not. This, then, would be the "*caſe of* "*URGENCY*," and thus the conſpirators would act. Before the firſt panic would be over, the whole affiliation would be in movement. They would thwart, threaten, or collect mobs; openly oppoſe, or ſecretly betray, juſt as it ſuited their ſeveral ſituations. They are not viſible now, but then they would be ſeen and felt too. I make no doubt but they have members, in ſome capacity or other, in every public department. I ſhould not wonder if they had at this time fifty in the different branches of the Poſt-office. Thus has it proved in every country, which the infamous ſans-culottes have invaded with ſucceſs. In Holland, for inſtance, few people feared the invaders. The barriers were well fortified, well garriſoned, well ſupplied with ammunition and proviſions, and the people appeared *unanimous* in their hatred of the enemy. But the fortreſſes fell, nobody could tell how; the French arrived as if it were *by appointment*, and many of thoſe who had been the loudeſt in their expreſſions againſt them, were the firſt that they took by the hand. Theſe villains had held a correſpondence with them, and afterwards made a boaſt of their treaſon; the jacobin affiliation ran through all the United Provinces; its members had crept into every department, civil and military; the mine was completed, and, at the approach of the enemy it was ſprung. Juſt ſo was it in Italy, in Geneva, in Venice; ſo was it in Switzerland; ſo will it be in Spain, and ſo would it have been in Great Britain long ago, had it not been for the valour of her navy, and the watchfulneſs and vigour of her government.

To the danger of such a conspiracy America is peculiarly exposed. Her *distance from France* is often, and, I must add, very stupidly, held out as a guarantee for her safety. I might insist that there is no barrier between her and the Spanish territory, which nobody would deny; but, waving that, what, without the interference of Great Britain, is there to prevent twenty thousand sans-culottes from landing in this country? And, if they should do this, how many circumstances has America against her which no state in Europe knew any thing of!

From various causes these United States have become the resting place of ninety-nine hundredths of the factious villains, which Great Britain and Ireland have vomited from their shores. They are all schooled in sedition, are adepts at their trade, and they most certainly bear as cordial a hatred to this government as they did to their own. The French sans-culottes now here, capable of bearing arms, amount to at least thirty thousand, all furious ruffians, puffed up with vanity, starving with hunger, and sighing for conquest and pillage.

Great numbers of these wretches, of all countries, are what are called CITIZENS; so that no *alien law* will touch them. Several hundreds of French have been very lately admitted to this destructive privilege; and it is well known, that REYNOLDS is not only a citizen, but the *political father* of other citizens; for he has been suffered to vouch for their "good moral character and "*their attachment to the* "*Constitution*," a necessary prelude to their admission.* The penal code has been softened down, till it has no terrors, ex-

* It is said that care is taken in the bill now before Congress, to include all foreigners, whether they have gone through the formalities of *citizenship* or not, if they are *fugitives from justice*, which is the case with REYNOLDS, ROWAN, &c. &c.

cept for the honeſt man, who ſtands in need of *protection*. There are ſixteen governments, all in ſome meaſure independent of the general government, to whom the ſafety of the nation is committed, and theſe ſixteen are very far from being all in the hands of ſuch men as would lend their cordial ſupport to that general government. The villain, who would get his neck ſtretched in the Federal courts, would very probably eſcape through other hands. In ſuch a ſtate of things, the civil magiſtrate muſt hold a blunted, if not a broken, ſword; and as to the military, though I would be willing to ſtake every thing on their *valour*, yet valour alone, without ſkilful commanders and ſoldiers were diſciplined, is like a razor in the hands of a child.

But what renders the ſituation of America more favourable to the views of France than any other country, is the *negro ſlavery* to the ſouthward. On this it is that the villains ground their hope. It is ſaid, that ſome of the *free* negroes have already been admitted into the conſpiracy of the UNITED IRISHMEN, and that ſome ſlave-holders either in Carolina or Virginia have engaged, in "*a caſe of* URGENCY," to ſet their negroes free, in order to excite diſcontents amongſt thoſe of their neighbours, and thus involve the whole country in rebellion and bloodſhed. I do not take upon me to ſay that theſe preparatory ſteps have been taken, but this I know, that nothing could be thought more helliſh or better calculated to inſure ſucceſs.

There are two ſorts of people who will *ſmile* at all this, and will call it a mere bug-bear: theſe are, the muddy-headed men of indifference and the jacobins themſelves. But, I truſt the real friends of government will ſee it in its true light, and will not ſuffer themſelves to be lulled aſleep by the ſongs of Doctor "REPOSE" and his adherents. All that

these people want for the present is, to see the government *quiet*, and unsuspecting. This is what they wished in Great Britain and Ireland. Every precautionary measure of the legislature or the executive; every *inquiry*, however legal, however delicately conducted, they brand with the name of "jealous tyranny;" and to every honest man, who has the zeal to come forward in the discovery of their infernal plots, they give the appellation of SPY. This has had much influence on weak minds. Your *good-natured peaceable* man cannot bear the name of *spy* or *informer*: he would sooner see his neighbours burnt in their beds, and his own wife and children along with them. I hope, however, that there is yet good sense and spirit enough left amongst us to despise every thing these artful traitors may say, and to defeat every thing they may attempt. The man, who shall bring the leaders of this conspiracy to the halter, will deserve as well of his country, as he who shall shed his blood in its defence.

I should here dismiss the subject for the present; but, apprized of the dreadful effects, which the UNITED IRISHMEN have produced in their own country, it is impossible for me to suppress a hope that the above proofs of their dangerous, deceitful, and indefatigable villainy may reach their deluded adherents there; and, should this be the case, there is a remark or two, which it may not be amiss to add, though not necessary on this side the Atlantic.

That the impious and rebellious crew, called UNITED IRISHMEN, have been organized and are maintained by, and act under the directions of, the savage tyrants of France, every person in Ireland must have had repeated assurances; if, however, there are any who really doubt of this, and are not yet quite dead to conviction, their doubts

muſt certainly be removed by the evidence, which is now laid before them.

The perfidious French, who have conſtantly undermined by their intrigues, before they have dared to hoiſt their bloody ſtandard, ſaw, in the aſſociations of WHITE BOYS and VOLUNTEERS, a ſet of moſt excellent recruits for a *Jacobin affiliation*, which were very ſoon and very eaſily formed, under the name of UNITED IRISHMEN.

Numerous have been the arts by which theſe nefarious hirelings of France have ſeduced the ignorant from their attachment to their government and their King. Amongſt theſe, extolling the *liberty* and *happineſs* of the people of America has not been the leaſt ſucceſsful. This liberty, and this happineſs, they have held up to their deluded followers as the rich fruits of a ſucceſsful oppoſition to the parent country; as the fruit of rebellion, revolution, independence; and, in the ſtyle of the modern "JOCKEY OF NORFOLK," they have told them to "*make the application.*"

I could produce many inſtances of their hypocritical efforts of this ſort; but I ſhall content myſelf with one, taken from their addreſs to PRIESTLEY, on his departure for America, which I ſelect, becauſe it was ſigned by the villain REYNOLDS himſelf.

"You are going," ſay they, "to *a happier* "*world*, the world of Waſhington and Franklin."
"——Yes! the Volunteers of Ireland ſtill live.
"They live acroſs the Atlantic! Let this idea
"animate us in our ſufferings, and may *the pure*
"*principles and genuine luſtre of Freedom, reflected*
"*from the* AMERICAN COASTS, *penetrate into our cells*
"*and our dungeons!*"

After this, who would not have expected to ſee them ſatisfied with the government of America?

They assuredly ought to have been contented, or at least *quiet*, when basking under the full blaze of that precious cheering freedom, the reflection of whose rays they so anxiously and piously prayed for. But, how has it turned out?—Napper Tandy behaved in such a turbulent manner; he vented such savage abuse on all branches of the government, that he was very soon driven from his lodgings as a monster. People would not remain under the same roof with him; and this, too, when sans-culotism was far from being obsolete.—Hamilton Rowan, in three days after his arrival in the city of Philadelphia, became one of the leaders of a mob of malcontents, assembled on purpose to over-awe General Washington, and deter him from signing the commercial treaty with Great Britain.—Reynolds, still more boldly and industriously seditious, after having long contributed to a print in the pay of France, in which the government was daily traduced, published a most false and wicked libel against Mr. Pickering, the principal Secretary of State, directly accusing him with malversation in his office. The falsehood was proved upon him, and he is now under a criminal prosecution for the offence. Thus, the man who inhabited Kilmainham jail for seditious practices and contumacy to the House of Lords, in Ireland, can also make shift to get seized by the sheriff in America. And this is the very identical Reynolds, too, who, prayed so sincerely for the reflection of the "pure principles and genuine "lustre of freedom from the American Coasts!"

Nothing short of a state of rebellion can content these wretches. All governments are to them alike hateful. Like Lucifer, they carry a hell about with them in their own minds; and thus they prowl from country to country. When in Ireland, *treason* was their *stalking horse*. Give them but

universal suffrage, and they would be content. For this they associated; for this they swore; and for this they murdered.—Well, *here* they found it in all its mobbish glory. Here every man, however ignorant, poor, or infamous, had a vote; and every office was elective, from the President to the petty-constable. In fact, they found here every regulation, and every principle of political liberty, which they pretended it was the end of their combination to enforce in their own country; but they did not find here what it was their real wish to effect in Ireland, namely, *a complete subjection to the will of Jacobin France*; and for this reason, and this alone, they have never ceased to manifest their hostility to the government, from the first moment of their landing to the present hour; and they are now just as busy and as indefatigable in the work of rebellion and bloodshed *here*, as ever they were in Ireland.

Miscreants! They have poisoned the domestic harmony of this country, and have for ever blasted the character of their own. The name of *Irishman* is become, and not without reason, detestable in the ears of Americans. Justice, however, forbids us to carry this resentment to any thing like a *general prejudice*. The innocent are never to be condemned with the guilty.

Ireland, owing to a combination of untoward circumstances, offered a favourable prospect to the views of the Jacobins; these circumstances have been improved to the greatest possible extent; but, it would be unjust, it would be barbarous in the extreme, to impute to the whole nation the crimes of the infamous few; crimes in which their fidelity has scorned to participate, and which their zeal and courage have detected and brought to punishment. Sufficiently great is the misfortune to be the coun-

tryman of a traitor, without being loaded with a ſhare of his guilt.

The great body of the Iriſh, inſtead of contempt and reproach, merit admiration and applauſe. They have had greater temptations to rebel, and a more formidable conſpiracy to combat, than any other people in Europe; yet their loyalty has triumphed, ſtill triumphs, and, I truſt, it ever will triumph, over every art and violence, to which it has been or ſhall be oppoſed.

THE END.